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Disposition of Monthly Report

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March 1957

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I. Doctrine (State and Law)

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After the theoretical paper of the CPOSU has already declared in its issue 20/56 that a temporary intensification of the class-struggle would be necessary ( [redacted] ) the same paper<sup>24/56</sup> takes up this question again under the heading "General Principles and Concrete Particularities of the Socialist Structure", the paper says that depending on the particularities in the various countries, the way to Socialism is different. However, that is not so much a difference in principles than a difference in the concrete forms of their application. "The following principles are considered to be binding for all countries: The dictatorship of the proletariat, guidance in the reform of classes by a marxist-leninist party, a tight association between the workers and farmers and with the other parts of the working people, elimination of capitalist property as well as the foundation of a socialist economic system".

During the struggles for power as well as after its acquisition, a class-struggle is unavoidable, even if it, according to circumstances, assumes different forms. Only he is a real marxist, who pursues the class-struggle to a final acknowledgement of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The political power of workers is in any case a democracy of the working people and a revolutionary dictatorship towards the non-working social classes and groups". Furthermore it is said, that in the countries of people's democracies the transition to socialism has not yet finished and the class-struggle is not yet concluded" and sometimes a temporary intensification of class-struggle is unavoidable". The writer then refers to the events in Hungary and declares that these events had such a tragic result, for the class-enemy was given the opportunity to spread his activities freely. One has forgotten, that despite of all particularities of the solution of the concrete tasks of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, the political power of the workers towards the enemies and their confederates has to be a revolutionary dictatorship.

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In the Soviet Zone of Germany there was found a fault in the fact, that judges and state prosecutors were not informed with a satisfying intensity about the "real danger of a intensification of class-struggle" ("Neue Justiz", 5/1957, p. 30). One must be afraid, that the abuses of law, which Stalin founded on the thesis of the intensification of the class-struggle, will be applied again, after, at least for the people's democracies, this thesis is again valid. Hungary and the Soviet Zone of Germany show first, that this thesis is meant to designate all that to be class-inimically what does not comply with the line of the party valid at the moment. ~~Thus~~ Attention must be drawn to the fact, that according to official interpretation the events in Hungary have their main source in illegalities committed in former times and in the resulting discontent of the people 25X1

Especially these illegalities were a result of the thesis of the intensification of the class-struggle. Thus it is difficult to realize, how the revived thesis shall be applied, without committing again abuses of law. 25X1

In Hungary Mr. Revai dealt in the detailed article "The Ideological Purity" ("Nepszabadsag", of March 7, 1957) with the causes of the Hungarian October revolution and with the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. He complies with the linguistic decision, according to which that was a counter-revolution and declares: "A mass-action with the aim of a armed overthrow of the people's democracy may not be any other, than a counter-revolution, independent of the fact, if parts of the masses participating therein are aware of this fact or not. Though it is not possible to identify the armed uprising with the preceding demonstration, the uprising itself may not be separated from the demonstrations, as well as demonstrations may not be separated from an ideological preparation, which undermined the proletarian dictatorship and prepared the capitalist restoration." Therefrom the writer concludes, that already the ideological struggle against the former leader of the Communist Party was the cause for the counter-revolution. "The real leading and preparing man of the October revolution was Imre Nagy and his group and who ever wants to pass over this fact or to embellish it, makes a concession to the counter-revolution and opens the doors

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for the infiltration of the counter-revolutionary ideology into the party". The writer then refers to the part Imre Nagy and his colleagues plaid and calls them "Traitors of the party and of the working class". (Presumably one already may find here the basis for a future show trial against Nagy). Then the writer defends Rakosi and Geroe, who, however, they made severe errors in the economic policy, and violated the party's democracy and the socialist legality, had not organized and prepared the armed struggle against the people's democracy and they did not want to tear out Hungary from the socialist camp and they did not call the imperialist troops to Hungary. One should not always pay attention to the errors of the past, how it was exercised hitherto and it should not be admitted, that under the slogan of the struggle against the Rakosi-Geroe-clique the ideological struggle of the counter-revolution hides itself. One should not only judge the leaders by their errors, but also by their merits. This is also valid for judging "Comrade Stalin". "Today it is evident to every communist that the world-wide action against Stalin and against Stalinism has been only a manifestation of the anti-communist incitement" [redacted] 25X1

*Handwritten: Klammern  
attached { }*

The writer emphasizes the leading part of the party, the abolishment of which has been the main scope of the counter-revolutionists. At the moment the most important aim would be to create an ideological unity, based on marxist-leninist principles. One must fight an intense, ideological struggle against the opportunists, revisionists and points of view directed against the party and if it appears necessary one should apply arms against the counter-revolution. Furthermore Revai turns against the workers' councils (cf. the following). Minister Marosan said in a radio transmission for the Austrian workers that the allegation, according to which the errors of Rakosi constitute the main reason for the October revolution, is a "complete lie" ("Radio Budapest", March 28, 1957, 10 hours a.m.).

In an answer to Revai's article ("Nepszabadsag", of March 10, 1957), Imre Nagy is attacked very sharply too, and in the same paper of March 12, 1957, Kiss, the secretary of the CC of the CP declares too, that Nagy was sympathizing with the counter-revolutionists and that he enabled them to come into important positions.

There attention should be drawn to the declaration of Kádár, who (as a minister of the Nagy government) declared himself to

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be fully unanimous with the declarations of Nagy, Tildy and Erdei. On this very day Nagy declared that the one-party system has elapsed and he said that the democratic cooperation of the parties of the coalition will be reintroduced, as it has already been the case before 1945; the socialist democratic party shall play its part too. Tildy had amongst other promised free elections - to all this Kádár gave at those times his consent. Ravai's essay of course, caused some contradiction. Molnar ("Nepszabadsag", of March 16, 1957), said, that he denies the judgement concerning the reasons of the October revolution. "General statements, the branding of certain groups, of the intelligentsia, of writers in general or of a group of writers as counter-revolutionists has no use ... Most of the writers have never been counter-revolutionists, but rather eager pioneers of socialism. In order to understand the cause one has to go farther back than only a few weeks or months before October 1956. One has to acknowledge, that the positive criticism of writers and journalists has had its reason; legitimate and justified criticism should not be designated as counter-revolutionary. "Is it really true that Rakosi-Geroe sponsored industrialisation to much, that they forced collectivisation (of agriculture) - by violating the Lenin principle of spontaneity? Is it true, that during the period of the Five Year Plan the standard of living did not rise but fall? Is it true, that court proceedings - especially against communists - took place, based on allegations? Is it true, that the process of rehabilitations proceeded very slowly? ... Yes, all that is true!" One of the main reasons of the October revolution is - besides the treason of Nagy and his companions - doubtlessly that Rakosi and Geroe were heavily compromising the party. The catastrophic influence of the Rakosi-Geroe-leadership lead, in the first instance, to the counter-revolution.

In the "Nepszabadsag" of March 21, 1957, reference was taken too to this article and the thesis of Ravai was generally accepted, however, the excuses for Rakosi were denied. He was found to be guilty too for the events in October, for his breaches of law gave reason for attacks towards the party. The writer quoted a large number of voices, who unanimously refuse the "rehabilitation" of Rakosi. This obvious uncertainty and unanimity in judging the October revolution probably will not be without

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juridical consequences. If there really will be show trials, it is easily possible, that the judges - as it was the case in the Poznań Trials - deal with the genuine causes of the uprising, as they were stated by Marosan [ ] and thus they will not apply the "full force of the law" [ ] but - if at all - they will come to a mild sentence. Already now one can see, that the sentences in speeded procedures, where ordinary judges are passing the sentence, had become much milder [ ]. That means a sensitive resistance towards Kádár policy of the strong hand, which has been obviously inspired by Moscow.

The struggles between Poland and Yugoslavia on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies on the other hand, concerning basic questions went on. The question is, if the admitted errors of Stalin were only due to his person or if their source lies in the system. Yugoslavia and Poland (the latter still up to now) assign the responsibility to the system, the Soviet Union and the Satellites have opposing points of view. Besides Chruschtschow (New Year's address 1957), Albania [ ] and Hungary (cf. above Revai), Bulgaria started again to stress the merits of Stalin.

In the "Dimitrow Gradska Prawda" of March 5, 1957, on the first page, there appears a picture of Stalin and an article, printed in italics, which says amongst others that Stalin has great merits concerning the development of the Soviet Union and the International Communism. "His merits in the victorious end of the struggle against the enemies of Leninism, Trotskists, Sinowjewists and other agents of the bourgeois are great. ... Stalin's tragedy was especially that he even then believed to protect the interests of the working people against the attack of the enemies when he made mistakes. ... These mistakes can not be regarded to be errors of the system, as capitalistic circles and some leaders of worker's parties do. ... He who speaks of Stalinism and Stalinists, serves the enemies of our socialistic community."

## II a) Constitutions

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## II b) Elections

In the Czechoslovakia "Radio Prague" reported on March 25, 1957,

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17.30 hours: the first part of the campaign for the election of the members of the National Council in the district of Presov has been completely thwarted; the population showed only little understanding and did not participate in the campaign.

## II c) Parliaments

In the course of the session of the Bulgarian National Assembly on March 13, 1957, the issue was the budget; 35 deputies took the floor and they stressed that the budget is entirely based on realities, for it has to serve the interests of the whole people and not like the budget in capitalistic states, which has only to serve a small number of people ("Radio Sofia", on March 13, 1957 on 18.00 and 20.30 hours). Prior to this various changes of the budget were suggested by the deputies to the Committee of the Budget. In his concluding speech the Minister of the Finance declared that some suggestions were accepted, the majority, however, had to be renounced, for otherwise the budget had to be increased for more than 50 per cent. ("Rabotnitschesko Delo", on March 15, 1957). Therefrom results that the parli-<sup>25X1</sup>mentary activity has even in Bulgaria gained more vitality.

Following the elections in Rumania

the respective National Assembly convened. On this occasion it was said that all of the 437 deputies are candidates of the Democratic Patriotic Front (which, as already known, is lead by the Communist Party). The members of the various committees were elected in a secret election (1). This was followed by severe attacks against the imperialists, discussions concerning questions of the foreign policy, tokens of loyalty towards the Soviet Union and declarations of submission to the People's Republic by the priests. Laws issued by the presidency in the time from November 27, 1956 to March 16, 1957, were - as it seems, unanimously - accepted. A law concerning the People's Councils has been accepted (cf. below II d), ("Radio Bukarest", on March 18, 1957, 17.00 hours, on March 19, 1957, 13.00 hours, on March 20, 1957, 17.00 hours, and on March 21, 1957, 22.00 hours).

## II d) Administrative Organs

Following the example of the Soviet Union, now Rumania endeavour to de-centralize its administration. The CC of the CP declares

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hereto that throwbacks in administration may be avoided i.a. by abolishing the strong centralization, for the large number of the central organs does nowadays not come up to the requirements. While still following the principle of democratic centralism, the exaggerated centralization has to be abolished by reducing the number of ministries and by increasing the rights of the National Councils. A more extended responsibility in the fields of economics, administration, architecture and in cultural questions should be devolved upon them. A law concerning the People's Council has been accepted in the session of the Parliament on March 22, 1957. ("Radio Bukarest", on March 17, 1957, 7.50 hours a.m. and on March 22, 1957 13.00 hours p.m.).

## II e) Formation and Freedom of Opinion

In connection with the elections for the Local Councils in the Soviet Union, the usual window dressing was done in order to stress the advantages of the Soviet democracy. In its issue of March 3, 1957, the "Pravda" published an article dealing with the socialist democracy on occasion of the elections of the Local Councils. In this article the socialist democracy is confronted with the bourgeois democracy. It is said therein: What a democracy is there, where national hostilities are existing, where millions of workers are exploited suppressed and threatened by poverty? The bourgeois democracy serves only the class of bourgeois and the interests in their class. The Soviet democracy, however, is a higher standing type of democracy. It is a form of the dictatorship of the proletarians, where the state is guided without the bourgeois class and much more, it is guided against it. The Soviet Organs, elected through general equal, direct and secret elections are the democratic representatives of the masses. The Communist Party is the leading force of the Soviet community and as already in former times, it will stand for elections together with the Trade Unions, the Comsomol and other organizations. Furthermore grievances in the election system in bourgeois states were exposed ("Radio Moscow" on March 3, 1957, 22.30 hours p.m.).

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In the Soviet Union the "Gomsomolskaja Pravda" published on March 28, 1957 a resolution, where it says i.a., that in the past anti-soviet rumours and phantoms amongst the youth had been spread. It is inadmissible to make nihilistic and unsound remarks. Especially amongst students an ideological offensive must be started in order to prevent bourgeois ideology and moral to settle in the youth. The young intellectuals were criticized too for they have unsound emotions and opinions. It is important to destroy bourgeois propaganda, which tries to infiltrate its doctrine into the Soviet youth.

In connection with this conference of the Comsomol the "Pravda" Moscow, from March 2, 1957, said i.a. that within the Comsomol there are grievances especially in the field of the ideological education of the youth. The youth should become acquainted with the successes of the glorious revolution and the working principles of the Soviet nation and of the Communist Party, furthermore youth should become acquainted with the great successes and progresses in the economical and cultural field, and the advantages of the socialist system as well. Here and there the influence of the imperialistic propaganda has been not sufficiently observed. Even these remarks confirm the noticeable restlessness in the rows of the youth

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In Hungary too, the new Minister of Education Kallai, pronounced the importance of an intensified ideological propaganda, in order to avoid the influence of the counter-revolution on the intelligentsia. He declared i.a. that in the field of artistic life one could not wave the guidance of the party and the state. To this last question the Soviet paper "Sovietskaja Kultura" from December 15, 1956 ("For the party life in art and criticism") and the paper "Literaturnaja Gaseta" from January 31, 1957 ("For the party life in arts and for the socialist realism") agreed; they demanded the persuance of the principles of party life. This means the reflection of reality from the standpoint of the "United consequent materialistic, marxistic and leninisti

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World Opinion". "The question of the party life is a question of social efficiency of arts, is the question whether the art participates actively in the struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, or if it takes only a passive position, and as a consequence, being of use for the hostile, reactionary forces". The authors should express in their works the struggle of the working class and its Avant-Garde - of the Communist Party - for the realization of the socialist revolution.

"We are calling upon the artists and stagemanagers for an ideological mature, combative and party-lined list of plays and they have to give the new interpretations and the art performances a high ranging communist content of ideas".

The abuses of criminal jurisdiction for fighting unpleasant expressions and formation of opinion proceeds. The "Práce" Bratislava from March 2, 1957 reports that various accused were condemned to sentences from 4 months to 7 years due to the formation of a "state-inimical, illegal" youth organisation. The aim of the organisation should have been to bring away the slovakian youth from the existing youth organisations and from building up socialism and to make them accessible to strange hostile ideologies. 25X1



( "Mlada Fronta", Prague, on March 15, 1957). 25X1

(Therefrom we can conclude, that letters to foreign countries still have to undergo censorship). This constituted an occasion for the Leader of the State Security Service to convene the co-workers in the factory of the arrested and to demonstrate to them the activity of the arrested as a warning example. ("Radio Prague" I" on March 14, 1957, 19.00 hours). (The sentence has not yet been published).

In Bulgaria, according to "Radio Sofia" on March 16, 1957, 19.30 hours, a proceeding has been initiated against alleged spies and diversants, who should have had the order, to collect reports concerning the mood of the population and to dispusse provocative rumours. (The sentence is not yet known).

Following the example of the Soviet Union, Rumania too, has illustrated the situation in the capitalistic states in the

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darkest black colours. ("Radio Bukarest", on March 13, 1957, 17.15 hours, radio lecture). In this lecture it was declared that the proletarian slum (pauperization) in the capitalistic countries still increases. Although the real wages in the most important capitalistic countries could be increased during the past 50 years per 50 per cent, the pauperization of the workers is noticeable. In the USA the unemployment e.g., is an essential component of the pauperization, for, the unemployed have to be kept by those members of the family who are working, for there is no unemployment insurance. In the years between 1929 and 1937 the average real wages have decreased per 45.6 per cent as a result of the expenses for unemployed relatives. Even if now the state of unemployment is not anymore as bad as it was 25X1 between the two wars, the increasing intensification of work aggravates the situation of the workers, impairs the quality of work and promotes the mental insanity.

A change could only be reached by liquidating the capitalism. 25X1 In Poland state subventions for the press were considerably reduced. The result thereof is that the selling prices of press products were increased and the newspapers have to adapt the views of the readers in order to come to an successful sale. The daily newspapers suffered most under this throwback, their daily circulation had to be reduced by nearly one million, according to "Zycie Gospodarcze" from February 17, 1957.

In Poland censorship seems to be intensified again, while during the last few months extraordinarily free articles could appear without impediment. It is said, however, that on February 21, 1957, the entire edition of the monthly "Zeszyty Teoretyczne" has been confiscated, because it has published an article by Jean Paul Sartre on Hungary. On February 27, 1957, a new weekly magazin "Politika" was issued. In this paper Putrament (member of the CC) declared, that as a precondition for keeping the freedom of press in Poland, a higher responsibility of the writer concerning the foreign policy and the ideological question would be necessary. Thereby Putrament attacked the liberal writers and complained, that the de-stalinization has got out of control.

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**II f) Religion**

In Hungary an ordinance concerning religious instruction has been published ("Radio Budapest", on March 23, 1957). It declares that participation in religious instruction is wholly voluntarily and one has to proceed against persons, who try to force somebody to participate in religious instructions by threat or fraud, as well as against those persons who want to hinder participation. Under certain circumstances religious instructions may be held in ecclesiastical buildings, however, generally they have to take place in schools. The parents are obliged to have their children registered there, immediately after the beginning of the school year. Only those persons are entitled to give religious instructions, who are entrusted by the church and have the necessary qualifications, and who have the consent of the Cultural Department of the Executive Committee of the National Council. There attention should be drawn to an ordinance of Kádár from November 1956, according to which everybody can participate in religious instructions, even if he was not registered. On January 29, 1957, Kádár waved this ordinance, so that only those children had religious instruction who were registered prior to this date. (cf. February report, p. 16 and following). For the future it is necessary again to get an explicit registration.

In Poland the paper "Trybuna Ludu" published on March 19, 1957, a second essay concerning "the church and the schools". The writer calls for a tolerant attitude between both, the followers and the deniers of the church. "Experience of the past centuries taught us, that the absence of tolerance (towards the church) and the compulsion to a secret exercise of religion had only a strengthening effect on the church." The Party should try to avoid the growth of fanaticism and chicanery amongst the youth due to the participation or non-participation in religious instructions.

**II g) Education**

The events towards the end of the past year made obvious that the youth was not willing to approve communist slogans without resistance. That is why the Communist Parties concentrate now on intensifying the education of the youth according to their point of view. (cf. above "Freedom of Opinion").

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In Hungary Kalmár declared in the newspaper "Nepszabadsag" from March 8, 1957 that it would be high time that the youth puts away the uncertainty and that the youth starts to go the path, leading to the rise of the system. The worker's party did not understand to hold the guidance of the youth, who requested the abolition of errors committed. At least now the youth ought to recognize that one had used them as the mouthpiece of a reactionary attempt. On the other hand the "Nepakarat" of March 10, 1957 emphasises the errors committed in the ideological education of the past. So, e.g., the books for children were selected unsatisfactorily. Many of the little boys saw movies about the glorification of partisans three or four times, and thus they learned how to blow up railroads and how to throw petrol containers on tanks. "This political over-education of the children has been one of the reasons for the events during October 1956".

In the Czechoslovakia the foundation of an institute for social sciences was permitted. ("Rudé Právo" Prague, on March 15, 1957). The main task of the institution shall be, to train highly qualified, marxist-educated persons, working in science and theory, who are capable to enlarge and elaborate the marxist-leninist theory. President of the institute is Professor Stoll, who, until June 16, 1956 has been Minister of Culture and who, in the course of de-stalinization received his dismissal.

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marx-lenin-  
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## II h) Discriminations and Minorities

From Latvia the enactment of a law was reported, according to which the inhabitants of the towns of Riga and Libau will loose their citizenship and within 10 days they may be evacuated from this towns, if they do not fulfill an important task in the social field, in the course of three months. A similar law has been issued in Hungary. (Ordinance of the Ministry of the Interior from March 19, 1957, according to "Radio Budapest" on March 23, 1957, 20.00 hours). (It is to be a regulation pertaining to Law 8130/1939 (!)). On this basis all unpleasant elements, who are dangerous to the state, the public security and to socialist society, as well as persons, being detrimental from an economic point of view, may be expelled from major places, hindered in their freedom of movement and placed under police supervision. The expulsion or placing under police supervision refers to a

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period of six months, but may be extended for 2 years as a maximum. Expelled persons may select their domicile by themselves. Persons placed under police supervision must report once a week to the Police Authorities. Competent for the expulsion is the Head of the Police Headquarters of Budapest or the Head of the Police of the Counties. An appeal may be lodged with the competent department of the Ministry of the Interior; it has delaying effect.  In the report 25X1  
 on the Ordinance it is said: it expresses "the higher moral attitude of our social order, which is to build up Socialism". According to reports from Hungary the former internment camp Kistarcsa (8 km north of Budapest) is filled again. On every first Sunday of the month relatives may come to pay a visit.

### III a) Criminal Laws

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### III b) Criminal procedures

In Hungary the court-material and speeded up proceedings on group of the possession of arms, counter-revolutionary crimes, incitement and so on, as well as arrests were carried on. Between March 1, 1957, and March 23, 1957, according to accessible publications, one could count 5 death sentences (not executed), 3 sentences for lifetime confinement and 32 sentences with a total of 177 years imprisonment, furthermore 48 arrests and 3 internments. Whereas until the end of February 1957 the average time of imprisonment was 10 years, it is now 5 1/2 years. This mitigation might have its source in the remarkable resistance of the judges against the terror proceedings. (Cf. February report, page 26 and following). From the above mentioned imprisonments 11 amount to 8 years and more, 14 to 2 years and less. As a whole 48 death sentences have been registered, 25 of them have already been executed. The Commission of Justice in Hungary declared ("Radio Budapest, on March 13, 1957, 20.00 hours), that until February 23 1957, 304 sentences were passed, 40 of them were death sentences

### III c) Sentences and Execution of Sentences

In Prague a proceeding was taken against a group of 11 boys and girls in the age within 16 and 23, because of hooliganism. ("Práce" Prague, on February 27, 1957). The report quoted:

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"Those crimes of juveniles route in the unsettled marriages of the parents, in the bad education in the schools and in the lack of capacity of the masters in the homes."

The sentences were imprisonment ranging from 3 months to 4 1/2 years; one of the sentenced will be expelled from Prague for the period of 3 years, after having served his sentence. (In the communist terminology crimes are due to remainders of the capitalistic way of thinking in the conscience of man, here, however, errors of the communist social and economic order seem to be the reason - quotation from the "Grosse Sovjetenzyklopädie" [redacted] 25X1 [redacted] 25X1

Again in Prague 8 persons, amongst them one woman, were sentenced to imprisonment from 1 to 7 years ("Mlada Fronta", Prague on March 1, 1957). The accused had to face the charge of having planned a demonstration for October 28, 1956 in connection with the events in Hungary. If one regards these reproaches as right, the sentences are extraordinarily mild. In Bratislava several people were sentenced because of larceny of state property; the principal was sentenced to 4 1/2 years imprisonment ("Radio Bratislava", on March 5, 1957, 5.00 hours a.m.).

"Radio Prague" reported on March 19, 1957, 12.30 hours on the conviction of a man, who within one year has received 166 parcels from abroad and who has sold their contents on the black market. He was sentenced to imprisonment for 3 years.

From Bulgaria "Rabotnitschesko Delo", Sofia on March 10, 1957, reports a death sentence. According to the report the sentenced had been a free farmer; when the agricultural cooperative was founded in his village a piece of land was taken away from him, for this he got another (probably a worse) piece of land. He protested thereto and despite of the fact, he drove his cattle to the old pasture. The head of the agricultural cooperative called him to account and it came to an assault, whereby the sentenced injured the head of the kolkhoz so heavily, that he died a few days later.

### III d) Rehabilitations and Amnesties

In Hungary new trials of criminal proceedings [redacted] 25X1 [redacted] 25X1 were continued. According to a report of "Radio Budapest" of March 5, 1957, 16.00 hours, a former judge has been discharged, who in 1951 was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.

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At these times he had been charged of having abated an organization, the aim of which had been to overthrow the People's Democracy. Now it was found that the sentence had been based only on a confession of the accused. Rehabilitation was granted too, to a 30 year old woman, who had been sentenced to 12 years imprisonment because of the alleged treason of official secrets. Now it has been recognized, that the accused did not commit the crimes with which she had been charged, or rather that her guilt had been so insignificant, that any sentence did not prove to be justified. In another case of sentencing somebody to 15 years imprisonment because of espionage (1952) discharge was issued, based on the fact that the former judgement was only due to a confession by the accused. Finally the sentence, passed in 1955, amounting to 3 years imprisonment because of incitement against the People's Democracy, has been waved, for the guilt of the person concerned had been so trivial, that not even a minimum sentence would have been justified.

In Hungary the settling of legal problems, resulting from the expropriation of landed property without remuneration has been started ("Radio Budapest", on March 16, 1957, 12.00 hours).

There is a total of 160,000 claims for about 350,000 hektares.

In Poland a leader of the polish underground army who had been sentenced to imprisonment for 15 years, now has been discharged, for it proved that charges put forward against him, were entirely unjustified. ("Slovo Povszechne", on March 8, 1957).

In Poland again, three persons, sentenced in 1949, were discharged later on; two of them were because of espionage and sabotage sentenced to death; later on this sentence was converted into lifetime imprisonment. Now the court found that all those charges were entirely unfounded. ("Radio Warsaw", on March 28, 1957, 20.00 hours).

#### IV a) Civil Law, Commercial Law, Industrial Law

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#### IV b) Property Law

In Poland more respect had been requested for the property laws. In an article ("Zycie Warszawy" on February 26, 1957) describing the situation in the Western parts, it was said: " Of extra-

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ordinary high importance is a law, which establishes again the property right in farms and in other landed property in agricultural districts. A law should be issued, warranting the same property rights, which we have in other parts of our country, e.g. the inheritance law and the right to freely sell our property." The same paper referred on March 6, 1957, again to the question of property law; it listed the various laws concerning expropriation and said, that these laws have facilitated for the state interference with the private property of the citizens considerably. The state, nearly under all circumstances could deprive the citizens of their property and the citizen himself had not been able to defend himself effectfully. In fact it was a legal compulsion through the administrative authorities. One day later, on March 7, 1957, the same paper published another article concerning property laws and referred to paragraph 12 of the constitution, according to which private property and rights developing therefrom have to be acknowledged and protected. However, in the past this paragraph was no impediment for executing illegal expropriations. A law should be issued, which "in accordance with the principles, binding for a law state", fixes the rules for an expropriation in such a way, that an arbitrary interpretation of the laws will be impossible. In case an expropriation takes place, as consideration the actual market price should be paid.

#### IV c) Family Laws

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#### V a) Working law and legislation

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#### V b) Working conditions

The "Rumunia Eibera" on February 24, 1957 reported on an ordinance covering the dismissal of employed persons. According to this, as stated in article 20 of the Labour Code, effective with the day of March 31, 1957, contracts of work may be cancelled for persons, whose employment is not possible within the work and salary budget for 1957. This applies to employed persons, who still have other incomes, or whose dependents have an additional income, which comes from a trade, the employment of a threshing-machine, a tractor, destilleries, small mills etc., furthermore pensioners and persons having various employments. The latter have to decide

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25X1

for one of the employments. Furthermore may be pensioned off, men at an age of more than 55 and more than 25 years of employment and women at more than 50 years and a time of employment of more than 20 years. ( [redacted] )

[redacted] The measures in Rumania are justified by the dismissals in connection with the decentralization of the authorities. 25X1  
In Hungary it was pronounced again that strikes are inadmissible. The "Nepszabadsag" of March 20, 1957 answers several anonymous letters, requesting the re-establishment of the right to strike: "Under the present conditions a strike would not lead to wage increases or to a rise of the standard of living; in contrary, it would have a decreasing effect. ... In capitalistic countries strikes are an improve for the worker, because capitalism is weakend, in our country, however, it would weaken the distatorship of the proletarian and thus work contra interests of the whole working people. [redacted] (Attention 25X1  
shall be drawn to the fact, that according to the law of January 15, 1957, concerning speeded up proceedings, incitement to strikes may be punished, [redacted] 25X1

The Worker's Councils more and more become the subject of severe discussions [redacted] and following). 25X1  
In Poland and Jugoslavia the Worker's Councils are already in existence, in Hungary they were founded during the revolution, than they were legalized and now they are attacked by the Moscow-lined People's Democracies.

In Poland the "Express Wieczorny" of March 16, 1957, says i.a.: "The question of the development of the Worker's Councils is not only of an economical, but even of a political importance. For our development in the question of the Worker's Council is not restricted to the use of economic reserves but in it also lies the realizati n of the great doctrine of the past months, namely, that Socialism may be built up only together with the masses and not without or even against them."

Jugoslavian publications dealt also, while investigating the problem of decentralization in the People's Democracies with the question of the Worker's Councils. The Jugoslavian newspaper "Dnevnik" of February 25, 1957, especially referred to the decentralization in the Czechoslovakia and said, that the communist leaders in the Czechoslovakia became aware, that the exaggerated

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decentralization constitutes the greatest impediment for the future development of Socialism, for thus the initiative of the masses is hindered; the responsible persons in the Czechoslovakia, however, demonstrated an obvious reservation, in order not to loose their influence.

The Yugoslavian paper "Mladost" of March 6, 1957, also referred to the fundamental questions of decentralization and declared, that Stalinism as a principle means assembling the power in the hands of a centralistic bureaucracy, keeping off the working masses from the administration of social concerns, an all comprising authority of the Secret Police and violation of legal principles. Though Yugoslavia is heavily criticized, The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies cannot but follow the jugoslavian way of decentralization and the participation of the masses in the building up of the socialist system. In another article of the same newspaper, it was said, that obviously the heaviest thought of the Communists (in the Soviet Union) is the question of the Worker's Council in Yugoslavia; they maintain, that the Worker's Councils have their source only in particularist tendencies and they are only able to pursue poor, bourgeois thoughts, which are not at all related to socialist conscience. On March 14, 1957, "Radio Zagreb" broadcast in a commentary the report of an article of the "Pravda Ukraini" of February 11, 1957. The newspaper is said to have declared, "the suggestions of the jugoslavian leaders, to give the guidance of production in the hands of the workers, is neither a new nor the last thesis of Socialism. ... These suggestion correspond to the well-known theory, which 35 years ago had been represented in our country (Soviet Union) by various non party-lined groups. The idea, to give the guidance of production in the hands of the producers, is an anarchosyndicalistic deviation. He, who spreads such ideas, aids the enemies of Socialism, if he wants it or not! We, the Soviet people would like to reach Communism on the true path of Lenin, by strengthening and developing Lenin's principles of democratic centralism in the guidance of the economy." (It should be remembered, that in the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany, the plan to found Worker's Councils had been weakened so much by Ulbricht, that one cannot anymore speak of an right of co-determination / Conclusion of the CC during the conference on November 12, 1956 to November 14. - "Neues Deutschland", on November 20, 1956/. In the meantime it was reported from the Soviet Occupation Zone,

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that the elections for the Worker's Councils, which were now due, had been adjourned).

The Yugoslavian utterances especially referred to an article of the "Communist" Moscow No. 18/56 ("The socialist reality ..."). In this article referring to a prior declaration by Kardelj (Yugoslavia) concerning the Worker's Councils, it was said i.e. that Socialism requires the state leadership in all branches of production in the country. Here again the Communist Party has a decisive part. The request, that the workers and the working class should have direct influence on the political system and not the Party and its leaders, respectively, means at last the denial of the marxist-leninist party and of its leading part. One could not confront the Communist Party and the masses of the working people, for both are an unity. The policy of decentralization hides a lot of great dangers, namely the danger of market fluctuations, which can not be anymore supervised, and the danger of anarchistic influences on the planning of economy and the a strengthening of the hostile classes and their elements. The means of production only society as a whole, that is to say, the whole people, may dispose of, for in its unity the people is the proprietor of the means of production, and not the worker of the respective factory. The property right may only be realized in a period of transition from capitalism to Communism by a state in which the dictatorship of the proletarian is valid.

In the Czechoslovakia too, in a conference of the CC, the formation of Worker's Councils was refused. ("Rudé Právo, Prague, on March 6, 1957). The working people has the possibility to influence the planning of economy by their Trade Unions, besides them special organs of the workers do not appear to be necessary. The foundation of two workers' organs would only lead to a splitting up of powers and it would also mean a throwback. It would be wrong, to believe that the interests of the enterprises and the interests of the Trade Unions are contrasts which cannot be bridged over, for both are organs of the same class. "Rudé Právo", on March 19, 1957 refuses again the so-called self-administration of the workers. The formation of Worker's Councils would lead to a weakening of the part of the Trade Unions (obviously lead by the Communist Party and constituting one of the well-known "Transmissions").

In Hungary Minister President Marosan ("The countries of the People's Democracies 1957, p. 581 and following), declared that

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the class enemies now apply new measures in order to split up the workers' class. Socialist democratic conceptions were revived and "the reactionaries came upon the tactics, to use the newly founded Worker's Councils to destroy the unity of the workers' class." Furthermore Marosan requested the clearing of the Worker's Councils from party-inimical elements. Pertaining to this, "Radio Budapest" on March 25, 1957, 18.00 hours, reported on the arrest of a lawyer on ground of counter-revolutionary activities; he, as a member and legal adviser of a Worker's Council, is said to have requested and caused the dismissal of "loyal persons", and their replacement by counter-revolutionaries. "Radio Bratislava" on March 26, 1957, 22.00 hours, broadcast the same report, obviously as a warning of similar tendencies in the Czechoslovakia. At the end of February it was already declared in a resolution of the CC of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party ("Radio Prague", on March 2, 1957, 7.00 hours am.) that in the course of decentralization, the workers should receive more rights in participating in the management of the enterprises than it has been exercised until now. The national economy, however, must be guided by an uniform, direct state plan and all attempts, in order to weaken the principle of central guidance by narrow minded arguments, must be abolished. This participation of the workers may only be effected by the Trade Unions' organizations.

In Hungary, Reval too, refused the Worker's Councils in his above mentioned article in the "Nepszabadsag" of March 7, 1957. "These young and not yet sufficiently strengthened and not deeply enough rooted organs, have to acknowledge the necessity of the guidance by the Party". ... The Party can principally not acknowledge a splitting up of the work in the factories, according to which the Worker's Council would be competent for the economic guidance and the Party only for the political education of the workers. On March 3, 1957, the "Nepszabadsag" heavily attacked the Worker's Council of a factory, for it declared not to be interested in political problems and that its interests are only in the field of the production. At the end of this article it was said, that there are still a number of members of the Worker's Council, who do not represent the interests of the workers and one can only hope, that the workers at a certain time will refuse to support that unworthy representatives any longer.

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The Yugoslavian paper "La Voce del Popolo" (Rijeka) of February 24, 1957 reports on a conference of the CPoSU in January, where it had been expressed that the self-administration of the enterprises is only an utopia and that in socialistic countries it never will be realized.

In contradiction to this general line the "Nepszabadsag" on March 1, 1957 declared that the dissolution of the Worker's Councils in public enterprises in Budapest on February 1, 1957 had constituted an illegality. "This is a violation of the interests and rights of the decent workers".

In Rumania one tries to prevent the formation of Worker's Councils by subordinating a large number of enterprises to the National Councils, who in the course of decentralization should assume the responsibility for the economic management of the enterprises (address by Stoica according to "Radio Bukarest", on March 19, 1957, 19.00 hours).

On the same day in the Czechoslovakia, "Rudé Právo" expressed its opinion against "various forms of the workers' self-administration, whose activity is a bad factor for the highly developed, specialized industry, which to a large extent needs the cooperation". The workers should not pay attention to foreign instigations, which only search to undermine the Trade Unions by requesting the workers to form Worker's Councils.

From the strikingly numerous publications one can again conclude that Moscow and its loyalists in the People's Democracies see a severe danger in the freely elected Worker's Councils for the leading part of the Communist Party. In as far as such councils do not yet exist or if they may not so easily be dissolved, as it is in Hungary, one would like to reach that the Communist Party obtains the leading part, so that the Worker's Councils may too be used as one of the transmissions for enforcing the will of the Party. In as far as they do not exist yet, they shall be branded as deviations of law or as social-democratic attempts for a splitting up. Obviously the workers have recognized that a purely political guidance of an economic enterprise at last will impair the rising of their living standard and thus they requested a participation in the management. They recognized that the Trade Unions do not represent the interests of the workers against the employers - the state. One must wait and see, if the self-administration of the enterprises by the workers will be successful of

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if Moscow's attempt to brand all those tendencies as "Titoist deviations" will have success. To make prognostications in this direction is very difficult, for the communists would regard a sensitive resistance of the workers as very unpleasant, on the other hand, however, the authoritative, leading part of the Communist Party has to be guaranteed, if the system shall not be seriously endangered.

#### V o) Trade Unions

The "Nepakarat of March 13, 1957 attacks the inimical views between the Trade Unions. One has the opinion that it would be the main task of the Trade Unions to represent the interests of the workers towards the employer, that is to say, towards the state. Those views, requesting the independence of the Trade Unions from the questions of production, base on the influence of the social-democratism; such inimical views are against the proletarian state and for this they must be strictly renounced.

The "Nepakarat" of March 23, 1957, reports on a conference of the Trade Unions, which requested that the piece-wages shall be re-introduced everywhere.

#### VI a) Agricultural cooperatives

From Czechoslovakia it has been reported that now one third of the agricultural land is cultivated by the cooperatives. While in 1953 one working unit (working day) had the value of 11.80 okrs this value in 1956 increased to 15.91 okrs, this corresponds to an increase of about one third ("Rudé Právo", on March 3, 1957). During a conference of the agricultural cooperatives in Prague on March 22, 1957, i.a. the alteration of the statutes of the cooperatives has been announced.

According to this alteration a remuneration shall be paid in future for the dead inventory, which the farmers give to the cooperatives, for this purpose 5 to 10 per cent of the annual net income of the cooperatives shall be spent. Furthermore it was expressed on this conference that now the former kulaks may be admitted to the kolkhozes, however, only after a thorough examination. In future the activity to convince the farmers, shall mainly be extended on the owners of medium-sized farms, who shall be won for the kolkhozes. "Práce" Bratislava of February 23, 1957,

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reported, that only in the slovakian agriculture, losses amounting to more than one milliard had to be registered, especially in the great state-owned farms. According to "Rudé Právo", Prague, of March 23, 1957, the socialist agriculture cultivates approximately 48 per cent of the agricultural land, therefrom approximately 9 per cent are cultivated by the state-owned farms. The newspaper stated not without a certain proud, that the political and economical weight of the kulaks had been considerably weakened and that the number of the kulak farms now amounts only to a fraction of one per cent of the total of the agricultural enterprises. Furthermore it was said, that the owners of medium sized farms of 5 to 15 hektares land are cultivating 51.1 per cent of the agricultural land of the Czechoslovakia. From these figures results that private owned farms of more than 15 hektares (kulak farms) now are only cultivating 0.9 per cent of the land. The political importance of the collectivization was stressed on the conference mentioned above. Novotny declared ("Rudé Právo" Prague, on March 24, 1957), that the socialisation of agriculture is of great international importance. Thus the international workers' movement and the working peasantry in capitalistic countries are strengthened in their struggle against the exploiters.

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In Poland Ochab declared on March 6, 1957 that the number of agricultural cooperatives has decreased from about 10,500 before October 1956 to about 2,000. Furthermore he said, that ideological motions have to be neglected towards the necessity of increasing the agricultural production. It is important to cultivate the land which is still fallow at the moment. While the fallow land comprised till now about 200,000 hektares, this area has still increased because of the dissolution of agricultural cooperatives. Furthermore the large landed estate of the state farms can hardly be distinguished from the fallow land. In many cases this land should be handed over to free farmers.

In Hungary Dobi ("Radio Budapest", on March 3, 1957, 13.30 hours) admitted that the inhuman methods which were applied to force the farmers into the kolkhozes, had caused those farmers not to stay in the collective economies. The state will in the future grant a maximum aid for the kolkhozes as well as for the free farmers.

The "Nepszabadsag" of March 17, 1957, complains that old farmers who are not anymore able to work are excluded from the kolkhozes in order not to be obliged to care for them. "In many kolkhozes the feeble,

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formerly so busy farmers, who have now grown old, are pushed out". (There it should be reminded that the same difficulties also rise in the other People's Democracies, Bulgaria and Rumania have already for this reason elaborated special pension regulations for the members of the kolkhozes).

Albania at the time being has 1.018 agricultural cooperatives. In the course of this year approx. 60 per cent of the arable land shall be collectivized.

In Rumania in a radio lecture ("Radio Bukarest", on February 27, 1957 17.15 hours) attention was drawn to the advantages of the agricultural cooperatives. There it was said, that the joining of the kolkhozes is voluntarily and that the farmers remain from the legal point of view the owners of the land, which they may dispose of by donation or inheritance. However, the farmers shall be burdened with 300.-- to 1000.-- Lei per hektare of the contributed land, corresponding to the average value of the living or dead inventory per one hektare in the respective village. That means that the farmers joining the kolkhozes on the one hand remain the owners of their land and on the other hand, however, they are burdened with liabilities, approximately corresponding to the value of their land, which they cannot pay off, so that thus an actual expropriation of the land takes place.

In the Soviet Union the "Pravda" of March 6, 1957 complains about the low speed of the development of the kolkhozes and state-owned farms, especially in the field of stock farming. The complaints which are repeated every year, after a socialistic development of agriculture ranging over a period of more than 30 years, do not give a good testimony for the advantages of the socialistic economy, especially for now again the decrease in stock farming and the non-expert economy has been criticized. The "Pravda" sees a solution in the fact that the Party, the Local Soviets, the Trade Unions and the Consomol organizations shall care for changes in this field.

#### VI b) Private Agriculture

In Hungary an order was issued ("Magyar Koezloeny" No. 15 of February 3, 1957, that the private property in agricultural land may not be higher than 12 to 15 hektares in the household of one living family. If this property is increased by inheritances, the state will buy the estate which is in surplus to the admissible quantity. The limitation is not valid for farmers, who already before the coming

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into force of this ordinance have had a larger landed property; this property, however, may not be increased anymore (e.g. by inheritance)

The Bulgarian "Gazette" of March 1, 1957 published an ordinance covering the quotas of the compulsory state deliveries for bread-stuffs, meat and wool. In this ordinance it is said that the quota for bread-stuffs for free farmers can be higher for more than 110 per cent, than the quota for the agricultural cooperatives. In fixing the quotas for single, free farmers, those quotas may be higher or lower than the average quotas for the other free farmers of the village.

#### VII a) Constitution of the Courts and Judges.

In Rumania in the time from March 10, to March 15, 1957 the elections for the People's Jurors were held.

On a conference of the Communist Party in Pecs (Hungary) the Party Actives expressed, "that the Court is not organ independent from the state, but rather a court of the proletarian dictatorship" ("Dunantuli Naplo", on February 24, 1957).

The Commissioner of Justice, Dr. Nezval, referred to the court-material and speeded up proceedings ("Nepszabadsag", on March 2, 1957). He said that no ruling class can admit that the hostile class is in the possession of arms; he quoted the point of view expressed by England (speech by Lennox Boyd on September 14) who had declared, that no negotiations shall be initiated with Cyprus' terrorists as long as they still possess arms. However, there is still a great difference, for the Hungarian court-marshal procedures protect the millions of workers against the counter-revolutionaries and professional criminals, while the English court-marshal procedures serve for the suppression in the Colonies. Nezval admitted, that in Hungary too, the speeded up procedures had been criticized heavily and one had asked for what a reason there are still such special procedures after the armed counter-revolutionaries had been defeated. He answered this question by explaining that the revolutionary workers' and farmers' government thus fights the activity of the counter-revolutionaries in the political and agricultural field. It "also uses the means of jurisdiction for the successful guidance of the political and economic struggle". A strike would weaken the power of the workers and endanger the vital interests of the working masses, for this reason the law is meant to threaten those persons with death, who are trying to incite to mass strikes and thus the law has effect on the orga-

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nizers of strikes as well as on those groups of workers, who still now can be mislead.

Already on February 22, 1957 Nezval expressed himself concerning the independence of judges on a conference of the members of the justice ("Dunantuli Naplo", on February 23, 1957). He declared, that the court in every regime is the organization through which the ruling class may effect its will by force, and so the courts cannot be independent of the aims of the state. For the time being there are three main tasks for the courts, namely, defending the legal order in the People's Democracies, as well as a class-combative jurisdiction towards the counter-revolutionary elements, furthermore defending the socialist legal order and its strengthening in the criminal and civil jurisdiction and finally preserving the socialist legality. At the end of his explanations he drew the attention of the auditory on the importance of a right political attitude of the judges and on the necessity of passing hard sentences towards the counter-revolutionaries.

VII b) State prosecutors.

On a conference of the state prosecutors in Budapest, Goetz, the head of the Budapest state prosecutors declared, that a deviation to the left ~~is~~ neither desirable nor necessary, if the concept of socialist legality is well interpreted. All efforts shall be used to prevent the revival of the violation of the socialist legality.

VII c) Advocates

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ANNEX

Magyar Kozlony, No. 32, March 19, 1957.

Ordinance No. 1/1957 (III.19) B.M. of the Minister of the Interior concerning Expulsion and the Placing of Persons under the Supervision of the Police Authorities.

For the purpose of executing DECREE No. 8130/1939 M.E. and for ensuring legality more effectively I issue the following orders:

Para 1

The Head of the County (Budapest) Police Headquarters may:

- a) Expel from their permanent or temporary domicile, or from a fixed part of the territory of this country, harmful persons dangerous to the State and public security or to socialist social co-existence, or causing anxiety from the point of view of other important State interests, or for economic reasons.
- b) Place those persons under police supervision at their permanent or temporary domicile, or within an area of State administration corresponding to the place of domicile.
- c) While expelling a person, place him under police supervision in another part of the country.

Para 2

The measures of constraint listed in Para 1 cannot be taken against:

- a) Persons who have completed their 60th year.
- b) Persons who have at least two children under 10 years of age, or
- c) Who have two dependents who are not earners and who are kept by the persons in question and whose existence would be detrimentally affected by such measures of constraint.

Para 3

The following groups of persons cannot be expelled or placed under police supervision:

- a) Persons against whom penal procedure must be instituted on the basis of existing evidence or evidence that can be obtained.
- b) Persons who are minors.

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- c) Persons who according to the Police Doctor suffer from a lengthy or serious illness.
- d) Women in an advanced stage of pregnancy.
- e) Persons who are deaf, crippled, or in any other way disabled, or who are unsound of mind.

Para 4

- (1) Within 15 days of having received an absolute warrant, expelled persons must leave their domicile and move to another place chosen by themselves. An expelled person may choose any place of domicile with the exception of the area given in the warrant of expulsion.
- (2) An expelled person may not return to the village (town, district, area) from which he has been expelled without previously receiving a permission from the competent police unit of his new place of domicile.

Para 5

Persons who have been placed under police supervision while being expelled must move to the village (town, district, area) designated by the Police Headquarters within 15 days from the day they received the absolute warrant. They may leave their compulsory place of domicile only with the permission of the Police Headquarters of their new domicile.

Para 6

- (1) Persons placed under police supervision:
  - a) May not leave their place of domicile, or the area of State administration defined in the warrant without previously receiving the permission from the police headquarters competent according to the place of domicile.
  - b) Must report at the given police unit at the time prescribed in the warrant.
  - c) Must abide by the restrictions given in the warrant.
- (2) The warrant referring to police supervision cannot contain that a person who must report (as given in Section (1)) more frequently than once a week.
- (3) The Police Headquarters may forbid a person who is under police supervision:

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- a) to leave his domicile at a certain period of the day.
  - b) to visit public places in general, or certain public places
  - c) to use a telephone in his place of domicile.
- (4) Those restrictions must be determined in a manner as not to hinder a person under police supervision from doing his work.

Para 7

The expulsion and the placing of persons under police supervision refers to a period of six months, which may be lengthened on three occasions for another six months; but the whole period must not be longer than 2 years. After the lapse of every six months the case must be officially re-examined.

Para 8

- (1) Decisions passed in the first instance as well as decisions remaining unchanged in the course of re-examination may be appealed against.
- (2) An appeal lodged against a decision in the first instances has a delaying effect.
- (3) The appeals are judged by the State Police Headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior.

Para 9

Valid expulsion or placing under police supervision, or the fact that they have been invalidated, must be noted in the Identity Card of the person expelled or placed under police supervision.

Para 10

An irregularity is committed by persons who during the validity of expulsion return without permission to one or several defined places, or to a definite part of this country from which they have been expelled by the police authorities; an irregularity is also committed by persons who violate the regulations referring to police supervision, or who evade them. Such persons commit an irregularity as defined in LAW DECREE No. 16 of the Year 1956.

Para 11

The present ORDINANCE comes into effect as from the day of its publication. Its provisions must be applied also to cases in which no absolute sentence has been as yet pronounced.

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Para 12

The present ORDINANCE will be executed by the National Police Headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior.

Para 13

ORDINANCE No. 760/1939 B.M. is invalidated with the coming into force of the present ORDINANCE.

(SIGNED: Bela Biszku, Minister of the Interior.)

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